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TWENTY YEARS AFTER—AND NOW

The Editor

★

ROYAL COMMISSION ON TRADE UNIONS

J. E. Mortimer

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Escalate Peace! — Ivor Montagu
Unity in Student World — Michael Costello
Rent Bill Must be Re-Cast — Walter J. Gill
S.W. Africa — Hilda Bernstein 'Aid' — Idris Cox

MAY 1965

Two Shillings

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Notes of the Month

TWENTY YEARS AFTER — AND NOW

The German chiefs are already preparing for a new war. History shows that a short period—some 20 or 30 years—is enough for Germany to recover from defeat and re-establish her might. . . . Accordingly it is not to be denied that in the future the peace-loving nations may once more find themselves caught off their guard by aggression unless, of course, they work out special measures right now which can avert it.

J. V. STALIN, speech on November 6, 1944.

April 17, 1965

It is difficult to write quietly on this twentieth anniversary of the defeat of fascism by the peoples of the world. Millions and again millions were done to death by Nazism and fascism—that horrible end-product of Western imperialist civilisation. Millions and again millions gave their lives to end it, that it should never arise again. All the governments of the alliance of the peoples swore the most solemn oaths, with their signatures upon the documents, to fulfil this pledge: that Germany should never be rearmed; that the Krupps and Thyssens should never be restored; that Hitler's generals should never command troops again; that the Nazis should never return to office and power. All oaths written in water and long ago forsworn by the perjurers of the ruling classes of the West.

Reversing the Alliances

The U.S. High Command in Germany has given orders this year to the American troops forbidding any celebration of V.E. Day. They would wish to bury the memory now felt shameful by them that they had any part in the defeat of fascism. An American Vice-President can visit West Berlin to hail the population of the former citadel of Nazism as 'the finest and bravest allies the West ever had'. He had become a little confused about which side America had been on during the war, and which had been the allies and which the enemies. The Nazi diplomat Blankenhorn comes to London to occupy the embassy of Ribbentrop. Premier Wilson goes to Bonn to fawn on Hitler's heirs, beg for alms, and repudiate any commitment to Britain's pledge to the Oder-Neisse line (the pledge which

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Churchill at the time had declared would be binding on every successor British Government). Defence Minister Healey makes the pilgrimage to Bonn to promise through the Atlantic Nuclear Force 'absolute equality' to West Germany in the field of nuclear arms. The Queen is to be sent to West Berlin as the symbol of the degradation which the final sneering utterances of Goebbels confidently prophesied. Already fourteen years ago, on the occasion of Adenauer's visit to London, Low in a famous cartoon depicted Adenauer patronisingly placing his hand on Churchill's shoulder on the steps of No. 10 to say to him: 'The past is forgotten; let me lead you back to the community of European civilised peoples', and Churchill muttering in response: 'Dash! Just what *I* was going to say to *him*!'

A Memory of Vansittart

In 1947 the Editor of this journal had occasion to debate on the B.B.C. with Vansittart (who during the thirties had come into conflict, in his position as Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, with the foreign policy of Baldwin and Chamberlain; had partially, though not with complete consistency, opposed the policies of so-called 'appeasement' of fascism and rearmament of Germany; and during the war had published a number of highly polemical denunciations, not of fascism or Nazism, but of the Germans in general). Incidentally, it is a revealing indication of the increasing reactionary ossification of political institutions in this country during the current period, that at that time, eighteen years ago, in the midst of the full blast of the then newly launched cold war, it was still possible for a political discussion of this nature, with the participation of representatives of genuinely opposed opinions to take place, such as would be inconceivable today under the present far more heavily blinkered and gagged B.B.C., which is so terrified of any hint of controversy or departure from official orthodoxy as to have censored out of existence even the very limited and in general far from vigorous 'Not So Much'. During the informal conversation which followed, once the public discussion was over, Vansittart said: 'All of you on the Left always criticise me for my "anti-Germanism". But I know the Germans, and my judgement is based on knowledge'. The present writer replied: 'You have mistaken our criticism. We have no confidence in your so-called "anti-Germanism", because we anticipate that within a few years you will be clamouring for German rearmament as the essential bastion against the Soviet Union and socialism in Europe'. 'Impossible!' Vansittart replied;

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'unthinkable'. Sure enough, Vansittart lived to see and acquiesce in German rearmament. Seven years after his 'impossible' and 'unthinkable', all the most vociferous champions of so-called 'anti-Germanism' during the war were backing the official programme for German rearmament.

Again!

After twenty years it is really time to review this whole policy expressed in Nato and the cold war, whose bankruptcy has become obvious. The reversal of alliances after the victory of a war-time coalition is a familiar story from centuries of history. But there is a distinctive element in the form this old story has taken in the modern post-1917 world which carries a warning. In the first world war (which was the only unqualified imperialist world war, since the second world war was rather a half-war from the side of the Anglo-French-American powers, and the main war was between the Nazi military machine, built up by Western imperialism, and the new world of socialism and national liberation), in this full-scale unqualified imperialist war the genuine aim of the rival Western imperialist powers was to crush German imperialism. The Versailles Treaty was ruthlessly drawn up to hold Germany permanently disarmed and unable to rise again. Yet within twenty years of that treaty—within the same period of time as now separates us from V.E. Day—German restored military power was able once again to plunge the world in war. Why? How? The answer is known to all. Because the hatred of the victorious Western imperialists for communism and the Soviet Union was even greater than their hostility to German imperialism. Therefore with their own hands they tore up the Versailles Treaty, financed Germany, rearmed Germany, built up Hitler, opened the gates to his successive aggressions—the whole policy of war-preparation of the second world war which they sought to conceal, and still seek to conceal, under the lying title of 'appeasement'. The costly outcome is known. It might have been thought that that outcome, with the price of fifty million lives, should have taught a lesson. Not so. During the past twenty years the same criminal folly has been repeated on a more dangerous scale, in the age of nuclear arms—without even the possibility this time of pleading a first offence.

From D'Abernon to Douglas—and Healey

In 1920 Lord D'Abernon, British Ambassador in Berlin, wrote in his private diary for November 20 of that year:

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> The French do not appear to understand that the military danger is past and that the real danger in Germany is communist disorder.

In 1948 Lord Douglas, British Commander-in-Chief in Germany up to 1947, wrote:

> The pressing danger today is not so much a revival of German militarism as the Westwards spread of communism.

Plus ça change. The Bourbons would lag far behind the modern example of forgetting everything and learning nothing. But indeed this time the sequel was prepared before the war was over. The cold war was not the outcome of difficulties with the Soviet Union after the war. The cold war was already planned in the secret Churchill Memorandum of 1942, that is, in the year when it had become clear that the anticipated destruction of the Soviet Union would not take place and that the Soviet Union would defeat Nazism. The Manhattan Project for the construction of the atom bomb was set in hand in the same year with the same aim officially recognised by those in charge. This was also the calculation of the Nazis as soon as it became clear that defeat faced them. The Nazi official organ, the *Völkischer Beobachter* wrote on February 21, 1945.

> Sooner or later the peoples of the West will unite their forces with ours to ultimate victory.

At the end of 1944 the French newspaper *Combat* published the secret memorandum of the German Commander-in-Chief in France, General von Stulpnagel:

> We do not have to fear that the peace terms will be similar to those we would have enforced ourselves, because our enemies will be divided. . . . No defeat is ultimate. Our defeat in the present war must be regarded merely as an unfortunate incident in Germany's victorious advance towards the conquest of the world.

Stulpnagel's subordinate on the German General Staff was Heusinger, who became the creator of the new German Army, and thereafter the head of the Military Committee of Nato. The thread runs consistently right through—and unfortunately leads finally to Wilson and Healey.

Kipling and the Nazi-U.S. Alliance

In the autumn of 1935 Kipling wrote:

> At the present time (autumn, 1935) I have read with interest the apology offered by an American Secretary of State to Nazi Germany for unfavourable comment on that land by a New York police court judge.
> (Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself*, 1937.)

This characteristically shrewd comment on the new alignments revealing themselves in the world of 1935 was written shortly before

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his death in 1936. Had he lived to see Munich, it might be that the deep disillusionment which set in for him from the first world war could have been carried a stage further forward; still more so, had he lived to see the epic battles on a scale never before known from 1941 and 1945, embodied for the imagination of the whole world in Stalingrad, revealing that 'The Bear Which Walked Like a Man' of 1898 and the 'Kingdom turned so soon to ashes, blood and earth, twixt the summer and the snow' of 1918, had given place to a new society capable of a heroism and unbreakable strength in face of every ordeal, in terms of a testing whose sternness he would have understood, without previous parallel in human history. Incidentally, in that same Autobiography he made his commentary on United States violence:

> I never got over the wonder of a people who, having extirpated the aborigines of their continent more completely than any modern race has ever done, honestly believed that they were a godly little New England community, setting examples to brutal mankind.

A sentiment still not without topical bearing when President Johnson makes one of his speeches, dripping with unctuous sanctimoniousness and napalm, on his war of invasion against the people of Vietnam.

The New Appeasers

Today the apostles of the New Appeasement, Brand II, try to cover up their tracks with two main devices. First, they swear that they have learned for all time the grim lesson of Munich and Appeasement, and that never again will they repeat that ghastly error. Henceforward they will maintain a firm unyielding front against the Soviet Union and communism; for any conciliatory attitude would be 'appeasement', and the experience with Hitler has shown that that path is fatal. Henceforward they will back the strongest rearmament of the German militarists and Hitler's generals; for any relaxation of the tension would be 'appeasement'. Thus in the name of renouncing 'appeasement' the old Munichite anti-Soviet policy of German rearmament and the Western coalition, falsely termed 'appeasement', is repeated. The Munich Four Power Pact becomes the Western European Union. The Anti-Comintern Pact becomes Nato. The dogs return to their vomit.

Two Germanies

But the second deception put over by the apostles of the Western imperialist cold war anti-Soviet military alignment, organised in

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Nato, with a rearmed German militarism as its main military base in Europe, is to argue that the present West Germany is a reformed character and has nothing in common with the old Germany. Surely, they plead, the Germany of today cannot be held responsible for the many regrettable things which may have happened under Hitler or during two world wars. Did not we all even at the height of the war make a distinction between 'good Germans' and 'bad Germans' (in the language favoured at that time by Western publicists)? Yes. There was always a distinction between fascist and anti-fascist Germans; between the German rulers, monopolists and militarists who built up Nazism with the aid of Western finance-capital, and the militant working class and democratic anti-fascists in Germany, who carried on the struggle in face of limitless terror and at the cost of countless lives, also right through the war.* But that distinction has today in the present phase taken on a geographical shape between two States. Not by the will of the democratic anti-fascist movement. The Soviet Union and all anti-fascists strove to the last for a united democratic and disarmed Germany, as agreed in the Potsdam Treaty. But the Western powers and German reaction chose the partition of Germany in order to have a rearmed Western German State as a constituent of the Nato military alliance. So it has come about that the aims of the working class democratic anti-fascist fight in Germany have found their expression in the German Democratic Republic, which alone has fulfilled the provisions of Potsdam, while the representatives of German reaction, of the monopolists and militarists who built and maintained the Hitler régime, have established their power in West Germany or the 'German Federal Republic'.

Who Divided Germany?

This, and not the mere geographical division, is the real problem of the present situation in Germany, arising from the Nato policy. As early as 1945 the Soviet Union first proposed that a provisional democratic administration for a united Germany should be already established. This was refused by the Western powers. As late as 1954, in the final note on the eve of West German rearmament, the Soviet Union proposed the holding of democratic elections through-

*Gestapo archives have revealed 301,000 political prisoners in Hitler's Germany, largely communists, as late as 1939. Allen Dulles reported confidentially from his intelligence base in Switzerland to the U.S. Government in 1944: 'There exists in Germany a Communist Central Committee which directs and co-ordinates communist activities in Germany. . . . The drift to the extreme left has assumed stupendous proportions and steadily gains momentum' (Allen Dulles, *Germany's Underground*, New York, 1947). See also some of the evidence, though very inadequately given, in T. Prittie's *Germans Against Hitler*, Hutchinsons, 1964.

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out Germany under agreed international supervision to establish a united democratic Germany, provided that that united democratic Germany should be permanently neutral and disarmed (in the same way as Austria today) in accordance with the allied agreements of Potsdam. But that same Note gave the final warning that if a re-armed Western Germany were established as a member of the Nato military coalition, this would bar the road to the unification of Germany. It was in the face of this plain choice that the Western powers and the German reactionary political leaders, including the leaders of right-wing German Social-Democracy, deliberately preferred the division of Germany in order to secure the rearmament of Western Germany as a member of a military anti-Soviet coalition. Thus they placed their anti-Soviet anti-communist fanaticism above national patriotism.

Path to German Unity

When these same leaders today demand in language of considerable violence the reunification of Germany, and also the restoration of the frontiers of Hitler's Germany of 1937, this is no peaceful proposal, but a demand for the further subjugation of the democratic anti-fascist forces of the German people to the régime of the militarists and monopolists and heirs of Hitler, of the banning of communism and tie-up in the anti-Soviet military coalition, with the further aim of expansion at the expense of other states. How far removed this demand is from peaceful aims is shown by the vociferous alarm expressed in these same quarters at any sign of relaxation of East-West tension. The real path to the restoration of German national unity is bound up with this international situation, and can only be accomplished through a radical change of policy towards peaceful aims; the relaxation of East-West tension; the replacement of the confrontation of Nato and the Warsaw Pact by a European mutual security agreement; the abandonment of expansionist aims; a peace treaty with both German states; and in the conditions of such a developing situation the transition of the two German states to closer relations and co-operation, preparing the way for the democratic and peaceful unity of the German people.

'Denazification'

To cover up this resurgence of the old expansionist aims of German imperialism and Nazism, we are inundated with assurances that the new Federal German Republic has been thoroughly 'de-

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nazified', and that the new Germany of Krupp, Thyssen, the militarists and the banning of the Communist Party has nothing in common with the old Germany of Krupp, Thyssen, the militarists and the banning of the Communist Party. We need not be alarmed if such a high proportion of the key positions in the state machine, the administration, the diplomatic service, the armed forces, the police and the judiciary are held by those who held positions in the service of Hitler or were registered members of the Nazi party. They have all been duly 'denazified' by one another and proved to have been only 'nominal members' of the Nazi party, becoming members (sometimes before Hitler came to power) and intoning 'Heil Hitler!' only for the honourable purpose of keeping their jobs under Hitler, that is, of preserving their own carcasses while assisting to send millions to the gas chambers. Even when the leading State Secretary and Adenauer's right-hand man, Globke, was finally proved, thanks to the tireless campaign from the side of the G.D.R., in face of repeated attempted denials, to have drafted under Hitler the official commentary to the anti-Jewish racial laws which sent millions of Jews to the gas chambers, and had to resign, it was claimed that he had only assisted in this way the drawing up of the anti-Jewish racial laws in order to help the Jews, since otherwise the regulations might have been more severe. And so with infinite others in high places, successively exposed from the side of the G.D.R., and, after prolonged attempts at denial, finally compelled hurriedly to depart from the scene amid general eulogies and declarations of confidence from their old friends continuing in charge.

For War Criminals—Amnesty?

Revealing in this context has been the obstinate attempt of the West German authorities to bring to a complete end this month on May 8 the trial of Nazi war criminals, on the basis of an old 1871 Statute of Limitations, and thus give even the most notorious still at large an amnesty, even though it has been officially admitted that the majority have not been brought to trial. It has required the most intensive international campaign (see the article of D. N. Pritt in the February issue of this journal) to bring the present reluctant bill before the West German parliament for an extension of only five years. It was not until 1958 that the centralised Federal Office for tracing Nazi war criminals was established at Ludwigsburg under a former Nazi and storm trooper (as usual, he denounced the exposure of his former Nazi membership by the G.D.R. as 'a pack of lies'

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and finally had to admit 'After looking at the documents in the Ministry of Justice I am convinced that I was accepted for membership of the party in 1937' and had joined the Storm Troopers 'almost automatically' in 1933). From the establishment of the West German state in 1949 to the end of 1964 only 5,455 Nazi war criminals had been sentenced by West German courts (12 death sentences; the average weight of sentence illustrated by the case of Joseph Paur, who was found guilty of killing 2,414 persons and was given seven years); and it was officially admitted that 27,000 cases were pending when the amnesty was proposed.

For Peace Criminals—Severity

Contrast with this singular paucity of Nazi murderers discoverable in West Germany the fact that the number of people put to death in Oswieczyn was four million, in Treblinka two million, or in Maidanek two million; and that the Nazi war criminals, according to the statement of the Soviet War Veterans Committee, murdered and tortured to death on the Soviet territory occupied by them a total of 6,074,857 peaceful Soviet citizens, and as many as 3,912,283 Soviet prisoners in the prisoners of war camps. Contrast with the total of 12,862 prosecutions of Nazi war criminals throughout these fourteen and a half years that between 1951 and 1963 no less than 200,000 political prosecutions have taken place in West Germany for peace supporters or communists or those accused of sympathy with communism or advocating friendly relations with the German Democratic Republic. The contrast sufficiently reveals on which side the scales of justice are weighted in this 'denazified' West German state.

Symbol of Krupp

The continuity of the militarist-industrialist coalition dominating Germany (the original feudal element in the coalition, represented by the Prussian Junkers who were the scourge of Europe, has been wiped out by the land reform of the German Democratic Republic), through all the changing political forms of the Kaiser's Empire, the Weimar Republic, the Hitler Third Reich and the present Bonn régime, has been symbolised for the whole world by the House of Krupp through six generations. The present owner, Alfried Krupp (Nazi party card No. 6,989,627), now 'the richest man in Europe', was sentenced at Nuremburg as a war criminal in 1947. The U.S. prosecutor charged him and his fellow directors with 'crimes against

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peace, war crimes and crimes against humanity'. It was shown that by 1940 he was 'employing' 69,898 civilian slaves, 23,076 war prisoners and 4,978 concentration camp inmates. 'Not content with exploiting concentration camp labour in its permanent plants', ran the Nuremburg evidence, 'Krupp actually went inside the confines of the concentration camps to establish plants'. Krupp was sentenced to 12 years, but never served them. By 1951 the U.S. High Commissioner in Germany released him and restored his property. Today his fortune is estimated at £400 million. Krupp and Thyssen are stated to control 30 per cent of German steel. These were the power that made Hitler and dominate Bonn today. *Plus ça change.*

Time to Awaken

On this twentieth anniversary of V.E. Day it is urgent to awaken to the danger which has been allowed to grow. Grave as is the situation arising from the aggressions of imperialism in South-East Asia, in the Middle East and in Africa, there is reason to judge still that the principal hotbed of a future world war remains Germany, now rebuilt economically and as a military power by the support of American imperialism with the participation of Britain. Hugh Dalton called German rearmament 'the road to hell'. Too far has been travelled along that road. The Labour Party programme of victory in 1945 *Let Us Face the Future* proclaimed: 'We must make sure that Germany is deprived of all power to make war again'. Today a Labour Government is offering West Germany 'complete equality' in the control of nuclear arms. We are assured that the openly expansionist aims of the rulers of West Germany to alter the frontiers of the States of Europe are only intended to be accomplished, so they tell us, by peaceful means. So also Stresemann told the Hamburg journalist in 1926: 'You cannot expect the German Government and German diplomacy to be so naïve as to inform the *Entente* that Germany intends to alter its frontier by force'. So also Hitler told his Nazi press conference on November 10, 1938: 'Circumstances forced me for decades to speak almost exclusively of peace. Only on condition of constantly underlining the German will to peace and its peaceful intentions was it possible for me to give the German people the armaments necessary as a preliminary to the next step'. West Germany has already the strongest army in Nato, so that talk of control by Nato has become an absurdity. If once the German militarists get their fingers on nuclear arms, the red light will be showing for the close approach to 'the next step'.

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A Policy for Peace

It is time to change the course. An independent foreign policy for Labour on the side of peace could equally transform the international situation and provide the indispensable condition for tackling the economic problems at home. This year's 'Defence' White Paper has in effect admitted that Nato no longer has any meaning as a supposed defensive alliance against an imaginary Russian menace which it is recognised does not exist. But the White Paper endeavours to draw from this the conclusion that Nato should be extended to cover Asia and territories beyond Europe. On the contrary. The practical conclusion points in exactly the opposite direction. The practical conclusion would be both to cut the indefensible military imperialist commitments and wars and bases in Asia, involving 72,000 troops, and equally the now admittedly superfluous military burdens of the Nato cold war structure, involving 62,000 troops in Germany. The 'East of Suez' policy to seek to maintain imperialist domination in key sectors of the Middle East and South-East Asia by military power simultaneously ties Britain to the universally condemned United States war in Vietnam, and places Britain in opposition to all the advancing forces of the world. The Nato cold war military structure, so far from having any defensive significance, is a menace because it ties Britain to the West German militarists whose expansionist aims are openly proclaimed, and ensures, through the presence of the British troops, Britain's involvement in any aggressive adventures these may attempt. If Britain were to take the lead, equally for the withdrawal of all invading troops in Asia, to leave the peoples in peace; for the rights of China in the United Nations; and for the withdrawal of all occupying troops in Europe, East or West, by an agreement between Nato and the Warsaw Pact powers to merge their separate organisation into a European mutual security agreement, with a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe; this would not only correspond to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the labour movement, as shown in many conference resolutions, give Britain a genuinely independent rôle in the world, such as would rally the support of the widest range of nations, but also liberate the British people to use their resources to solve their economic and social problems at home.

R.P.D.

Correction: On page 176 of April issue after line 26 insert: 1964, 791 applications for, and 429 approvals of, loans for group.

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SOME POINTS FOR THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON TRADE UNIONS

J. Mortimer

[*This article deals only with a limited number of issues and some of the things I suggest may be regarded as very questionable, but my article is no more than a contribution to discussion and the important thing is to stimulate discussion.*—J. Mortimer.]

THE Royal Commission on trade unions and employer's associations has now been established. It will shortly begin its work. So far, all the indications are that the initiative in pressing for changes rests with people who, in the main, wish to impose new obligations on the trade unions and who complain of the unions being very much out-of-date in their attitudes and activities. The complaint that the unions are out-of-date is not usually motivated by a desire to strengthen them as agents of workers' interests but by a desire to divert them into channels of activity which do not challenge the power and profits of the employers.

Within the labour movement there is very much a defensive attitude towards any discussion of trade union rights and the future rôle of the trade union movement. This is generally as true of people on the left wing as of people on the right wing of the movement. Most of our colleagues are concerned to defend the rights contained in the 1906 Trade Disputes Act and to uphold the autonomy of the unions against State interference. Very few positive suggestions have been forthcoming for changes which might help the unions in their work.

It is not the purpose of this article to argue against the suspicion with which trade unionists regard many of those who, from outside the movement, are pressing for change. This suspicion is often justified. Nor is its purpose to suggest that, in the ultimate, there is any other basis for trade union strength than the consciousness and voluntary support of millions of working people. Nevertheless, trade unions do not exist in a social vacuum. The legal framework within which their activities are conducted can and does materially influence the effectiveness of the movement. Moreover, the British trade union movement is neither as strong nor as effective as it should be, and its resistance to those who wish to weaken it should not lead to complacency or opposition to *any* proposals for change.

There are many indications of trade union weakness in Britain (there are also many indications of trade union strength, but for the

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purpose of this article it is the weaknesses which deserve attention). Three of them are:

1. Less than half of Britain's workers are members of trade unions.
2. The standard of living and conditions of employment of workers in many British industries have improved more slowly since 1945 than in many other industrialised countries. There are many factors which have contributed to this slow improvement, but one of them is the modesty of trade union claims and the lack of vigour with which they have sometimes been pressed.
3. There are many unions which, to a considerable extent, have been unresponsive to modern needs. They have not developed or encouraged workplace representation, their means of communications are deficient, their finances are limited, and their educational and research facilities are primitive.

True enough, a Royal Commission is not going to solve these problems. But those who want to see them solved can use the opportunity for public discussion which the appointment of the Royal Commission has provided. The public forum should not be occupied only by those who wish to weaken the unions.

Trade unions, it is often said, have a privileged position in British law. Efforts will, no doubt, be made in evidence to the Royal Commission to curtail these so-called privileges. In my view the trade unions in Britain are not privileged; they are under-privileged. This ought to be said publicly and loudly. The impression of privilege is given by the manner in which trade union law has developed in Britain. The unions have had to fight, stage by stage, for immunities against common law doctrines and judge-made liabilities. These immunities are then regarded as privileges. In reality, they are not privileges at all. They are a partial assertion of what ought to be full social rights: namely, the right to organise, the right to bargain collectively, the right to strike and the right to conduct trade union activities at the place of employment. None of these are affirmatively protected by British law. It is still legal in Britain for an employer to intimidate a worker against joining a trade union or participating in trade union activities and exercising his rights as a trade union member. It is still legal for many big engineering firms to sponsor an organisation—and to recruit tens of thousands of staff workers into its membership—which expressly forbids members from belonging to a trade union. It is still legal for an employer to seek to deny collective bargaining to his workers even though they are members of a union and want to negotiate.

In many other countries these acts would be unlawful. They ought also to be unlawful in Britain. These anti-social privileges enjoyed

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by employers are an anachronism and an affront to democracy. It is sometimes suggested that the introduction of these new affirmative social rights might encourage breakaway unions or might enable them to win recognition. There is no reason why this should be so. Claims that the right to organise or the right to bargain collectively were being violated could, if not otherwise resolved, be referred to the Industrial Court. The Industrial Court is not a court of law but a body consisting of persons with wide experience of industrial relations. It could be expected in its findings not to encourage breakaway organisations, and could be endowed with a variety of powers to resolve claims referred to it about the right to organise and the right to bargain collectively. It could employ conciliation, it could 'enquire and report' or, as a last resort, it could issue an award stating that the right to organise or to bargain collectively had been violated and that the violation should cease. Such an award could be made legally enforceable. Whenever possible, however, the purpose of the machinery would be to promote by voluntary means the universal observance of the right to organise and to bargain collectively. Nothing should impair the right of unions to enforce recognition by normal trade union procedure, including strike action.

The law in relation to the right to strike is also unsatisfactory. According to the Minister of Labour, Mr. Ray Gunter, in his speech on the second reading of the new Trade Disputes Bill, a strike is a concerted withdrawal of labour in breach of contract. This implies that all strikes are in breach of contract. The only way, according to Mr. Gunter, in which workers in a dispute can avoid breaking their contracts is by giving notice to terminate their employment, with whatever loss of pension rights or other long-service rights this might involve. If Mr. Gunter's definition of a strike is to be accepted it leaves all sorts of problems unresolved in relation to the existing law. There are a number of court decisions which indicate that if a worker breaks his own contract of employment in furtherance of a trade dispute he can be liable for damages. Protection is only given if, in furtherance of a trade dispute, a person induces others to break a contract of employment (Section 3 of the Trade Disputes Act, 1906). Under the new Trade Disputes Bill a person will also be protected if in furtherance of a trade dispute he *threatens* to break a contract of employment. If, however, a worker actually breaks his own contract of employment in a trade dispute his liability remains. The fact that in the great majority of cases employers do not take legal action does not alter the position that according to the law

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the worker has committed a civil wrong which can give rise to legal proceedings. Thus, under Mr. Gunter's definition of a strike, it is very doubtful if the right to strike has any firm legal foundation at all. Moreover, no one can really be certain what constitutes a strike 'in breach of an employment contract'. To strike without giving proper notice would almost certainly be held to be in breach of contract. Proper notice will be determined according to the custom of the trade, or the written terms of employment, or the Contracts of Employment Act. Some lawyers and some employers' representatives, however, have argued that a strike which takes place before the negotiating procedure has been exhausted, even though a week's notice may have been given, is still 'in breach of contract'. They claim that an important implication of the House of Lords' judgement in the *Rookes versus Barnard* case was that the terms of a negotiating procedure agreement between an employer or employers' organisation and a union or unions form part of the contract of employment of each worker covered by the agreement. Thus, on this interpretation, any breach of procedure is not just a breach of a voluntary agreement without legal liability; it is a breach of contract which renders those who have committed it, liable to legal action. This, if accepted, could have dangerous consequences.

Mr. Gunter's definition of a strike as a concerted withdrawal of labour in breach of contract appears to be at variance with the provisions of the Contracts of Employment Act, 1963. This Act recognises that *some* strikes are in breach of contract but that others are not. If a worker participates in a strike which is not in breach of contract his continuity of employment is maintained and his entitlement, if any, to extended notice is preserved. This provision was inserted at the request of the trade union movement. It seems likely, as a result of the new Redundancy Payments Bill, that in order to protect strikers from losing their entitlement to severance pay it will be necessary to repeal that part of the Contracts of Employment Act, 1963, which made striking in breach of a contract of employment count as a break in the continuity of employment. The best way to remove all these uncertainties would be to protect affirmatively by law the right to strike whether in breach of an employment contract or not. The only exceptions should be strikes in breach of contract which endanger life, may cause serious bodily injury or serious damage to property, or may endanger, in substantected. The workers employed in the public utility industries should, tial measure, the public supply of gas, water or electricity. In such cases the right to strike in breach of contract ought not to be pro-

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however, have a legal right to strike by giving proper notice. Provision is already made for a distinction of this kind in the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875. This Act does not outlaw strikes in gas, water and electricity but it makes a breach of contract of employment in these services a criminal offence.

Evidence is likely to be heard by the Royal Commission on the question of individual rights in relation to trade union membership. So far, attention has been focussed mainly on the issue of whether or not a worker should have a statutory right to join his appropriate trade union. There is, however, in my view a far more important issue affecting the rights of individual workers. It is that members of a trade union should not be denied the right to stand for office under the rules because of their political affiliation, religion or racial origin. Members ought not to be denied the right to stand for office except on grounds of age, or length or class of membership, or except as a penalty for a specific individual act harmful to the union. This penalty should be imposed only after proper enquiry—with a right of defence—under 'due process' of the union's constitution. In other words, any rule which prohibits members of any political group—from right to left—from eligibility for office is, in my view, wrong and incompatible with trade union democracy. Members ought not to be denied the right to stand for office because of their views; the process of union election or selection provides the opportunity for a choice to be made between those who offer themselves for office. A limited provision against discrimination is contained in Section 3(b) of the Trade Union Act, 1913. This stipulates that a member who does not contribute to the political fund of a trade union should not be placed under any disability or disadvantage in comparison with other members of the trade union, except in relation to the control or management of the political fund. If this principle is valid, there is even less justification for permitting discrimination on political grounds, in relation to eligibility for office, against members who satisfy the full obligations of membership.

There is, of course, much else to be considered for the submission of evidence to the Royal Commission. Nothing has been said in this article, for example, on trade union structure, the importance of workplace organisation and representation, the one-sided nature of many procedure agreements and of the functions of the T.U.C. The important thing, however, is not to leave the initiative to those who wish to weaken trade unionism. There is much to be done to strengthen trade union rights and to help the trade union movement.

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ESCALATE PEACE!

Ivor Montagu

MAY 1965 sees a crisis in the peace battle. The sky is black. The forces of war are strong and grow in daring.

In Vietnam the years of struggle and suffering are reaching their climax. Unable to subdue the Vietnamese people, the American military are intensifying their slaughter in every direction. Their air strikes creep ever northward toward Hanoi and the frontier of China. The escalation appears inexorable; nuclear blackmail is already being summoned to play its rôle and the world is on the verge of having to pay a heavy price for its past indifference to the 'far-off'. The disarmament negotiations, after years of wrangle, have reached an impasse. The Western alliance with Hitler's heirs in Bonn is beginning to bear its fruit of renewed provocation in Berlin. Negotiation is moribund.

Johnson, granted by the American people the greatest majority in U.S. electoral history in order to save peace and keep out Goldwater, has stolen the clothes of his rival—where the one proposed defoliating jungles by nuclear explosion, the other is doing the job with 'Lazy Dog', poison gas and napalm. Wilson, elected to end the long rule of Toryism and adopt an independent peace policy oriented on Britain, strikes at the working-class pocket to maintain and increase British military expenditure and proclaims support without reservation both for U.S. policies in South Vietnam and U.S. extension of hostilities against the North. In the House of Commons Vietnam debate *The Times* can find no point of difference between Michael Stewart and Sir Alec Douglas-Home. The Labour front bench talks of John Strachey's dream-child, Malaysia, and Britain's peace-keeping-responsibility 'East of Suez' in the accents of Kipling brought up to date; mothers a second abortive fiction 'the South Arabian Federation' in language that would have suited the Indian North-West Frontier in the 1880s; and practices co-existence with undemocratic régimes or systems in British Guiana and North Rhodesia which, out of office, Labour denounced as a swindle and an abomination. No wonder there is a temptation for the anxious womenfolk and the hopeful youth, who have been the backbone of peace activity in Britain in the past several years, to despair.

But this picture we have outlined is only one side of the medal.

It is a time far too grave for false optimism. Despair *could* doom humanity. The threat carried by the leaden, brutal clouds is real

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and all the establishment's resources of mass communication are exerted to make their massive power appear almighty in face of any possible dissent. But, in reality, we are far nearer our goal of a decisive turn toward peace than anyone imagines, and the American violence in Vietnam, as well as the haste of Bonn to get its fingers on nuclear weapons, are both born of realisation that this is the true assessment of the stage we have reached, and the possibilities that lie ready to reward courage and clear sight.

In actual fact the loud bullying by the forces of war conceals the essential flaw in their situation. This is: never was impatience with them so general, never the demand for a turn so strong, never was their true purpose so isolated by public opinion. The arguments for Cold War have grown so thin that they are unrepeatable. It is confessed that the bogey of the Red Army waiting to pounce upon Europe was fictitious, the massive multitude of divisions a myth, the threat of Soviet rocket attack a publicity stunt to badger arms orders for the U.S. Corporations out of a hesitating Congress. The flimsy pretext of the Chinese bomb is having to be recruited to replace these discredited obstacles as a bar to settlement.

Why is there deadlock in disarmament negotiations? Precisely because all the excuses for failure to agree have been exhausted. The problems—this way and that—have been harried to death, so that now there are nearly no problems and, patently, the only thing that remains lacking is will to agree—on one side. Where are the excuses used by the West a few months ago for refusing to make the test ban total? Exploded by the march of science. The commitment of the Pentagon to Bonn, slavishly adopted by the Labour Government as it takes over the Tory mantle, is manifest as the obstacle to a non-proliferation agreement. The exclusion of China from its rightful place has become such a scandal, the old readiness of the majority to endorse U.S. policies so precarious, that the State Department dare not allow the United Nations to vote. Ably supported by the Foreign Office, it has had to invent a crisis of 'arrears' of payment for its old one-sided and illegal misuse of the U.N. flag for covering military intervention (under the title of 'peace-keeping operations') to hamstring the U.N. before embarking on aggression against the Vietnam Democratic Republic.

The Vietnam crisis itself is a crucial life and death struggle for the forces of war. The 'ninepins' theory is true enough, though not in the limited sense pretended by the Pentagon strategists and their gramophones. Their whole credit and existence is bound up in win-

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ning. That is why it is so hard to bring the U.S. government to face the bankruptcy of its policy. A people in revolt that has built its power from arms captured from the enemy or forged in the forest, which already administers territory comprising four-fifths of the nation's land and over half its population (and this in the face of all the cruelties the boffins of U.S.A. can devise and its gangsters in uniform carry out), and all the gold of Fort Knox—this is the truth that imperialism cannot admit. Not only the U.S. military, but the existence and age-old credit, taken over from feudal times and magnified with imperialism, of the entire military caste as a part of the governing class in capitalist society, is now in the last ditch.

The world has come to realise that, with the hydrogen bomb, it can no longer afford world war. The general staffs, heirs to the age-old prestige of the warrior defending the weak and women, have become too plainly in modern functions the potential mass murderers of mankind. If the soldier is still to bear any other rôle than as a redcoat on military parades, if the officer is to do anything but strut, wear medals and organise military tattoos, then they must, at least, show themselves capable of imposing the will of a great power on a small people, where the material and financial disparity is as wide as between U.S.A. and the South Vietnam National Front of Liberation. If the U.S. object were really that which its President's propagandists employ as a mask—the welfare and freedom of the South Vietnamese people—nothing would be easier than attaining it by getting out (if that were not the South Vietnamese will, the National Front of Liberation would not have been able to withstand through all these years and U.S. power and U.S. gold and arms would have been able to secure by now a stable government). And any legitimate international fear or anxieties could be taken care of by effective guarantees that could be agreed in two minutes.

But that is not the point. *If* all U.S. power cannot impose its will on the naked bodies of jungle peasants, what are its (or any other 'imperialists') armies for? The point is that. Therefore whatever talk of negotiations there may be, whatever pretences Johnson and the Pentagon put forward of making 'no conditions', one condition is always there: U.S. forces must, according to Johnson, stay. The fiction must be maintained that they are there for the 'good of' the Vietnamese. The manifest fact that the South Vietnamese do not want them, and are prepared to go on suffering indefinitely rather than accept them, must be concealed by blaming anything and everything else but this for U.S. frustration—Russians, Chinese,

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North Vietnamese, Communism, the devil, or original sin. Chou En-lai is one hundred per cent right when he says that settlement is possible only between the parties to the conflict—namely the U.S. government and the people of South Vietnam. From this reality, all the slaughterous attacks from the air on the North Vietnam Republic, the empty mountains of 'White Paper' accusations containing not even mice of evidence of intervention, whether by U.S.S.R., China or the Vietnamese D.P.R., the would-be fact-finding missions of such as Gordon Walker to Hanoi, are hoodwinking diversions.

Of course, *if uninterfered with,* the U.S. government possesses the military resources to continue its aggression against the Vietnamese people for several hundred years, or escalate it to the point of world war or their total extermination (whichever comes first). But the ground for measured optimism in the situation is the growing movement that refuses to let this crime alone. From the Pope to U Thant, from Lester Pearson to de Gaulle, not merely from the 'red' governments but right across the 'uncommitted' spectrum to the West, parties, personalities, masses, nowhere more bravely and abundantly than in the U.S.A. itself, are on the move inspired not merely by fear of consequence but fearless indignation at the hypocritical bloodshed. Not only war, but peace, is escalating.

So far as we in Britain are concerned, the map today presents an interesting pattern. Vietnam, Laos, Malaysia; Berlin and Bonn; Aden, Muscat, Cyprus and the whole Near East; Congo, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa; Cuba, Alabama, British Guiana and elsewhere in the American hemisphere—almost every trouble spot in the whole wide world is a place where U.S. power abetted by Britain, or British power supported by the U.S. government, or a puppet or 'ally' maintained by either or both, is endeavouring to get its way by force. Every one of these enterprises is rapidly alienating world opinion and in every case the British posture is in flagrant contradiction with the principles and detailed policies the labour movement has gone on record as supporting, and the present government members supported before taking office. The rôle of U.S. jackal will as surely doom Labour's hopes and ruin Britain in 1965 as it did in 1945. The task for both the labour movement and peace movement is clear. 'Taking Britain into the Twentieth Century' is not so much a matter of Universities and machines. Kipling and Churchill are both dead. It is a matter of not following these worthies into their tombs, of joining the forward movement of the human race.

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VOICES ON VIETNAM

[From the many voices raised for peace in Vietnam, we publish two which readers may have seen only shortly reported but may find useful to have on record.—Ed., L.M.]

Canon L. John Collins:

IT IS NOT ENOUGH for us to be content with generalisation about peacemaking. So I ask myself, and I invite you to ask yourselves: What ought we as Christians to be doing and saying about the present situation in Vietnam? What ought we and the churches to be about if we are to be blessed as peacemakers in this dangerous situation?

Until recently the Americans have tried to justify what they are doing in Vietnam on the grounds that they were preserving the free world, and South Vietnam in particular, against Communist aggression. Even if this had been true, the retaliatory strikes of American bombers, perhaps understandable in terms of the Cold-War mentality were inexcusable, and should have been wholly repugnant to Christian conscience.

But in the last few weeks all pretences have been exposed for what they are. Even many of those, who previously had become bemused by propaganda on both sides, must now be alive to the actual situation. The plea that American troops are ensuring the liberty of the people of South Vietnam becomes more and more indefensible. The rejection by the President of the U.S.A. of proposals for peace discussions suggests that the Americans have involved themselves—and perhaps the world—in a dangerous gamble from which they are afraid to withdraw lest they lose face.

The Washington Correspondent of *The Times* reported, on March 10, these sinister words, 'The situation here appears ripe for war. The last factor, but possibly the most important, is that even some moderate people have been persuaded that there can be no early negotiations because American prestige and honour are now totally involved'. And a well known American column writer who came to see me recently told me that, in his opinion, what the U.S.A. is doing in Vietnam is not, as propagandists of the left would have us believe, a result of American imperial aims, nor yet of any desire to preserve or advance American economic interests, but of what could best be defined as a religious conviction: America, he said, believes itself to be divinely ordained to fight for man's freedom—that is why President Johnson won't listen to any rational suggestions for resolving the present tensions in Vietnam—and, he added, Great Britain is expected to join her in this crusade.

Be this as it may. Whatever may be the motives behind American policy in Vietnam, Britain is certainly expected to co-operate. But can any Christian really believe that Britain ought on Christian grounds to associate herself with what is now happening? We know, only too well, that, quite apart from the wickedness of plunging the world into war, a war, which might well escalate into a nuclear holocaust, even on grounds of expediency, such an effort is bound to end in failure—American or any other western military intervention in Asia or Africa only increases the strength of Communism in those important areas of the world.

What then, ought we Christians, what ought the Churches, to be say-

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ing and doing in this dangerous situation? Committed as we are, or ought to be, to the Christian Gospel, to the way of love, it seems to me that the answer is pretty clear: Britain, we should be *saying,* ought openly to dissociae herself from he present American policy in Vietnam —she should have no part in agression, however provocative may be the words and actions of others. And we should be *doing* everything possible to encourage the British Government to respond to this call.

We should press the British Government to refuse, at whatever cost, even, if necessary at the cost of abandoning its East of Suez defence policy, to refuse to co-operate in any military operations in Vietnam; we should ginger it up to get peace negotiations begun; and we should demand that it does all it can to build up the prestige and the responsibility of the United Nations in regard to this issue.

The time for secret diplomacy has gone. Britain, we should insist, ought openly to declare her independence of American policy in Vietnam: for, if Britain is to play an independent role anywhere, she must play it here; if her East of Suez policy is to be more than an appendage of American foreign policy, she must be seen to have peaceful intentions here; if she is to continue to have any moral influence in the world, she must do what is right here.

Mr. Wilson and his colleagues in Parliament need to be constantly reminded of the things they stood for, and the hopes they raised, when they were in opposition. It is not easy when in power to resist the pressures of the military and of the civil services; and inside knowledge, particularly in matters of defence, often means necessary adjustments being made in the application of principles to particular situations. But whatever adjustments to previously conceived policies may be required, the principles themselves remain the same, and should be adhered to, whether the Labour Party is in power or in opposition; and it is our task to encourage Mr. Wilson and his colleagues to remain faithful to them. Any involvement of Britain in the present American policy in Vietnam would seem to me to be something the Labour Party, at least, just must not allow.

Very many Americans are opposed to what their Administration is now doing in Vietnam and look to Britain for support. The majority of the Commonwealth, to the strengthening of which our present Government is committed, would welcome our open withdrawal of support for the present American activities in Vietnam. And the whole world looks to Great Britain, who is Co-Chairman with the Soviet Union of the 1954 Conference and a member of the International Control Commission, to use her influence with the U.S.A. to get the dispute settled at the Conference table. Christians, surely, ought to do everything possible to persuade our Government to respond to these hopes.

At Suez, thank heavens, the Americans thought it right—whether for good or bad reasons—to oppose British and French pretensions, and to intervene against an immoral and inexpedient action. It is to be hoped that today, in a situation perhaps more dangerous to world peace, the British Government will decide that our alliance with the U.S.A. and the whole world, will be best served by an open refusal on our part to participate in a venture equally contrary to Christian conscience, and

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equally doomed to failure even on grounds of expediency.

(From a Sermon delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral, March 21, 1965.)

Lord Milford:

THE STRUGGLE OF the people of Vietnam and of Malaysia are part of a single struggle against Anglo-American imperialism in South-East Asia. Today, when public opinion has been stirred up over the use of gas, we surely have to ask ourselves why we and the Americans are in South-East Asia at all. The people of Britain are deeply horrified to hear on the radio and to read in the Press that the Americans are using gas. Yesterday, it was napalm; today, gas. As has been said, in 1925 all the leading countries, except America, signed an agreement saying that they would never use gas. And if this gas is unsuccessful, who is to say that it will not be nuclear weapons tomorrow? There are already rumours and reports of discussions on selected nuclear targets. Again, new weapons have been tried out on a coloured race.

There has not been such consternation in this country since Lord Attlee went to President Truman to stop the use of atom bombs in Korea. The American Ambassador in Saigon, General Maxwell Taylor, has said that there is no limit to the escalation of the war and that the United States may directly enter the ground fighting. Furthermore, the American Air Force jets are now flying over North Vietnam selecting targets at will. This means that young, trigger-happy pilots are 'making whoopee' with rockets and napalm. We must remember that, although President Johnson won the election easily, an awful lot of people voted for Goldwater.

The 1955 Geneva Agreement, in the drawing up of which Lord Avon played such a leading part, provided for the independence of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; for the withdrawal of foreign troops and bases; and for the establishment of the 17th Parallel as the demarcation line until elections in the whole of Vietnam in 1956 to unify the country. America did not sign, but undertook not to use force to overturn this agreement. However, she poured in money, equipment and advisers, to prop up the corrupt and unpopular Diem, who refused to hold elections in 1956. He and his Government were loathed and despised for their oppression and corruption. So, in 1960, the National Liberation Front was formed. Its programme was merely land reform, factory welfare and the liquidation of American monopolies.

The British Government, as co-chairman of the 1954 Geneva Convention, should insist that the 1954 Agreement, which stipulated no foreign troops or bases in Vietnam and that the people of Vietnam should decide their own affairs, is observed. America is violating this Agreement. Any conference on negotiations must be based on its observance. Those who helped to put in a Labour Government hoped that there would be an end of imperialism and of 'showing the flag'. They hoped that there would be a big cut in armaments and armaments expenditure. But, instead of a gunboat policy, there are now huge fleets, napalm, gas and nuclear bombs. Every day the Labour Government continues to support the Americans' open and dirty war is a challenge to the labour movement and is causing consternation, cynicism and anger; but America's criminal irresponsibility brings the possibility of a third world war nearer.

(From a Speech in the House of Lords, March 23, 1965.)

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Twenty Years

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;o — And Now

On April 25, 1945, the allied armies of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. met at the Elbe River. The American soldiers enthusiastically welcomed their Soviet comrades-in-arms, and the photo on the left, from the cover of the American weekly *Yank* of May 6, 1945, depicts their friendly partnership. Above we show a drawing from a booklet published by the West German Christian Democratic Union, depicting the Queen standing with Dr. Adenauer as 'Partners of the Free World' and used in his election campaign.

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THE RENT BILL MUST BE RE-CAST

Walter Gill

The plain fact is that rented housing is not a proper field for private profit.

HAROLD WILSON, Leeds (February 9, 1964.)

MR. CROSSMAN's Rent Bill is not being acclaimed by organised tenants as the fully satisfactory fulfilment of the Labour Party's pledge 'to repeal the 1957 Rent Act' which they voted for and Mr. Crossman claims it to be. Concerning important items in the Bill, consternation is the evident reaction. Demands are being launched to secure substantial amendment not just on details but on its basic 'philosophy'.

Coupled with the widely familiar pledge of repeal was the little-known proposal in the Labour Party's detailed programme to set up local tribunals with the duty of fixing fair rents. No one explained by what criteria fairness is established as between the conflicting interests of tenants and business-men in the housing game nor what precise guidance tribunals would have. We should have probed this deeply, but did not. We certainly had no suspicion it would mean higher rents, for the Labour Party (as, too, the Conservative Party) asked for no mandate to put up rents and so lacks electoral sanction for what this Rent Bill intends.

The Labour Party was also pledged to 'stop further rent de-control', yet this Bill makes full provision for future total de-control without requiring new legislation. Whether this Government would use this power is not quite anyone's guess, for Mr. Crossman's speeches show he happily looks forward to being able to do so. But we may be sure, from recent speeches and much else, that Conservatives would hasten to use this weapon if they regained power, happy to inherit such a nice plum from a Labour Government.

I must make it plain, of course, that we do not ignore the Bill's good features, offset as they are by very bad ones. Security of tenure is guaranteed for all dwellings still under control, *i.e.*, 'creeping de-control' goes. The new limits of control (£400 R.V. in London and £200 elsewhere) are advanced sufficiently to mean restoration of control to 800,000 dwellings de-controlled since 1957. Current rents are frozen and are capable of reduction if the 'fair rents'

*Mr. Gill is General Secretary of the National Association of Tenants & Residents.

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formula operates effectively against high rents attributable to scarcity. Rents established under the new procedure will be firm for three years. Tenants within the rateable limits given above and, additionally, all other tenants (including service, agricultural and public authority tenants) will be protected against summary eviction, harrassment and intimidation. The law is somewhat improved concerning furnished tenancies.

All comment on the Bill's verbiage for determining a fair rent (Clause 22) derides its unintelligibility for purposes of interpretation in concrete terms and, very correctly, asserts it to be incapable of consistent implementation. Private negotiations with landlords, and decisions by rent officers and rent assessment committees all acting independently, must mean that rents for similar houses, with similar general factors applying, will be dissimilar. Even if clarity were otherwise possible, all would be upset by the requirement that a fair rent is one which assumes there to be no scarcity, for rent officers and committees will reach varied conclusions from the exercise in guesswork they must attempt. An equality between available dwellings and the numbers wanting them is a phenomenon no one has experience of!

Rent officers are not to be experts, but 'first-rate people who are close to the ordinary man and woman' and it will be town clerks who will choose them. Mr. Crossman is visualising retired persons of the professional class mostly, though council officials and health inspectors might do. We have no confidence that such persons are especially well-endowed to conciliate between the irreconcilable ideas of landlords and their tenants, to know what constitutes 'fairness' (except through the easy arithmetic of the 50:50 compromise) and how to imagine a rent level if no scarcity existed. Seemingly they are to use their common-sense, *i.e.*, the notions commonly held in their own circle of 'what people must be prepared to pay these days' and, therefore, reflecting the scarcity rent values they are supposed to ignore. Solomon could not make the grade on this job!

The rent assessment committees have to include a valuer. This is a type who mainly works for property owners and their concern to maximise rent and profit. For him to try to imagine rental values outside the higgling of the market would be an unnatural act. His guess would be no better than anyone else's. Would his lawyer colleague know any more? The third member, a layman, will need to be an expert on compromises for he could be no better equipped to translate the metaphysical notions of Mr. Crossman

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than anyone else in the sense of finding facts.

Why has Mr. Crossman (and the drafters of the Labour Party sentence about fair rents and tribunals) avoided finding a precise formula which would fix a maximum rent applicable automatically and simultaneously to all dwellings within the system? Why should tenants negotiate with their landlords, take time to interview a rent officer and then, perhaps, sit through an assessment committee's flounderings? Why should they have to fee a lawyer if they want to beat the landlord's lawyer, most likely put up to beat their case? Mr. Crossman's answer is that he wants to avoid the 'inflexibility' and 'rigidity' of rents bases, for example, on rating assessments, as they are now. Since the 1963 valuations can be changed at any time should circumstances warrant and since all of them are to go through the quinquennial re-valuation in 1968, where is the inflexibility? He makes some sort of case against the validity of the 1963 valuations but not a convincing one really. He is silent on the 1956 valuations and these have not been criticised as unreliable; a multiplying factor (as in the 1957 Rent Act) can adjust these to current money values.

The answer I will offer, however, is that Mr. Crossman needs a system of flexible rents as the cleverest way for achieving a remedy for the position he detects in private landlordism, viz.:

> There is something desperately wrong with private landlordism today. The provision of cheap rented housing has become at once unprofitable and in short supply. (House of Commons, March 22.)

This finds confirmation in his later remarks, in relation to urban renewal, that:

> private enterprise needs help and I hope that flexible rent regulation would . . . encourage the good landlord to prolong the life of his property by repairs and improvements.

This can only mean that (apart from cuts in outrageously high rents) there is to take place a general rise in the level of rents. The object? Mr. Henry Brooke's exploded myth about the 1957 Rent Act rises being intended to get the repairs done! Even more ambitious perhaps: to lure the landlords, after a half-century's absence, into the erstwhile profitable field of low-rent housing, with new houses at last.

Though Mr. Crossman's Bill, if allowed to go through unscathed, would bring about a general rise in rent levels, it will not have the results he depicts. All of us will have paid the bribe, but fruitlessly. *The Economist,* for example, dismisses scathingly the notion that landlords will be attracted and, on the contrary, 'will continue to get out of the business as quickly as they can' (March 27). It is disturb-

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ing that the Bill does not appear to provide any remedy, by withholding part of the rent, where houses are in disrepair. When rents are in the 'regulated' system there will be no certificates of disrepair.

The Bill's provisions on maintaining control are unsatisfactory and ominous. Though the 'creeping de-control' of the 1957 Rent Act goes, in future when a 1957 controlled dwelling is vacated it passes into the 'regulated' system. A prospective tenant has to negotiate the new rent and the landlord will naturally select the applicant willing to pay most. Then he can get this agreement registered with the rent officer and it holds for the next three years, with no right for the successful applicant to do other than repent. Hence, landlords will still benefit from vacancies and strive to create them, though harassment will be less easy.

The Bill provides that the 2½ million dwellings now under 1957 Act control can be transferred to the new system, with rent revision. Also, that all control and regulation can be lifted for the whole country, or in different areas in turn, whenever the Minister puts through an Order in Council to that effect. What emerges is that the Labour Government has the perspective of unending private landlordism (Mr. Wilson's Leeds speech notwithstanding). Flexible rents are to make the game more profitable and control is not to be permanent. A constructive rôle is planned for this discredited institution in helping to solve the country's housing crisis.

The National Association of Tenants and Residents is in line with much public opinion, extending far beyond Socialist ranks, in believing that rented housing should become a public service. Generations of bitter experience, and the more recent excesses exposed by the Milner Holland Report, justify us.

Because Mr. Crossman's Bill not merely postpones the essential transformation, but implies it to be permanently abandoned as an ideal, it must be substantially altered. In its details, in many respects, it equally requires amendment.

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BRITAIN AND THE HUNGRY MILLIONS

Idris Cox

2. Development and Aid

The first part of this article, printed in the April *Labour Monthly* showed world hunger and poverty to be the inevitable consequence of imperialist exploitation of the 'developing' countries. Many schemes for 'economic aid' have been conceived to hide the process of imperialist robbery and in this final article the various projects for development and aid are examined.

The two main United Nations 'economic aid' schemes, are, first, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development and second, the Expanded Technical Assistance Fund. Then there is the World Bank (dominated by United States banks) whose full title is the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. It created a special agency, the International Development Association to extend loans at commercial rates for 'developing' countries. All these scemes count for little or nothing in contrast with the total sums allocated in the 'bilateral' economic aid schemes of the capitalist countries. They constituted only 7 per cent of the total 'economic aid' schemes of the capitalist world in 1956, rose to the peak figure of 13 per cent in 1961 (after the big jump in 1960 in the number of independent states) and dropped again to 6 per cent in 1963.

The Colombo Plan for the non-socialist region of south and south-east Asia is not really a plan, for all the trumpet-blowing. It is not even British. It is simply a co-ordination of 'bilateral' aid from Britain, U.S., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, combined with the normal budgets of these countries. The 'bilateral' schemes of the United States and Britain account for more than two-thirds of the total capitalist world. So an analysis of U.S. and British 'economic aid' schemes (with minor variations) gives the basic pattern.

The channel for the United States is the 'foreign aid programme' which has to be approved every year by Congress. For the ten years from 1946-1955 inclusive, it reached the colossal total of $51,300 million. This covered every conceivable aspect of 'foreign aid'—Mutual Security programme, Marshall Plan, U.N.R.R.A., Point IV plan, etc. When this huge sum is broken down, it is revealed that 70 per cent went to Europe, 20 per cent went to Asia, only 8 per cent

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went to Africa and the Near East, and a bare 2 per cent went to Latin America. Moreover, the bulk of all this had nothing to do with 'economic aid'. Nearly 80 per cent was for direct military expenditure, an unspecified amount was for economic aid to military projects, less than 5 per cent was for 'development assistance', and 4 per cent was for technical co-operation.

In the succeeding eight years of 1956-63, the annual average declined from $5,000 million to $3,000 million, with a total of $22,541 million for the whole period. The main difference was less for Europe, but considerably more for south-east Asia, especially in military expenditure. Early in 1963, President Kennedy appointed the Clay Committee to examine the U.S. 'foreign aid programme', and when its report was presented the London *Times* made this comment:

> American aid is just not aid, but part of foreign policy. The committee calculated that 44 per cent of American aid in 1962 was military and economic support for allied countries bordering the communist bloc, and if the sums spent in Vietnam and Laos and other 'border countries which wish to retain their independence though not allied with us' are included, the share of total appropriations comes to 72 per cent. (March 28, 1963.)

The leopard has not changed its spots. President Johnson's request for $3,380 million for the current year 1965-66 was cut by Congress to about $3,000 million, one-third of which is openly for military aid—apart from further 'economic assistance' for direct military projects. The *Economist* on January 23, 1965, pointed out that:

> In the reduced total the amount allocated to military assistance is actually larger, having been allowed to rise to $1,170 million from $1,055 million, requested and granted last year.

With the enormous 'escalation' of military equipment and troops into South Vietnam since January, it is obvious that 'military assistance' now takes a bigger slice than ever of the 'foreign aid programme'.

Successive legislative Acts have made provision for British overseas 'economic aid'. The first was the Colonial Development Act (C.D.A.) in 1929 'to aid and develop agriculture and industry in the Colonial Territories, and thereby to promote commerce with, or industry in the United Kingdom'. This provided only for £1 million a year. It was replaced in 1940 by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (C.D.W.A.). This provided for grants of £5 million a year, but in the first six years the total allocation was only £10 million. In the ten years 1946-55 inclusive, the total grants reached £150 million. At the rate of £15 million a year, this worked out at that

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time to less than a penny a week for 82 million colonial peoples! Even so, only £545,202 of this amount was spent on direct 'industrial development'—less than £1 in every £300. Thirty times more was spent on roads, 22 times more on water supplies, and 15 times more on surveys and reports.

In other words, the chief aim was to build an 'infrastructure' (including schools, hospitals, houses, etc.). This enabled overseas monopoly firms to have cheap public services—roads, bridges, power, irrigation—and also provided a growing labour force. The undoubted benefit to the colonial peoples, though limited, was really a by-product of imperialist economic aims. Another channel was the Colonial Development Corporation Act 1948 which had the power to borrow £150 million. It was replaced in 1963 by the Commonwealth Development Act which makes no grants, but extends loans only on strictly commercial terms. Actual commitments of long-term loans since 1948 amount only to £117 million. This Act is almost entirely restricted to private firms within the Commonwealth.

Since 1958 a new system of 'Commonwealth Assistance Loans' came into operation, administered under Section 3 of the Export Guarantees Act, 1949, and as since amended. This extends loans to independent states of the Commonwealth, but strictly at commercial rates, plus one-quarter per cent service charge. Most loans are tied to the purchase of British goods. Then there is the Department of Technical Co-operation, whose function is to provide technicians, experts, and teachers—for which allocations have increased in recent years in contrast to cuts in total 'economic aid'. In 1960 came the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan, prompted by increasing victories for political independence in Africa that year. All these specific channels are now co-ordinated within the new Ministry for Overseas Development created under the new Labour Government, and for which Mrs. Barbara Castle is the Minister. Judging from the motion presented by Mrs. Castle in February to the House of Commons for the extension of the C.D.W.A. to 1970, it does not seem to indicate that any basic change is contemplated.

Looking back over the past 18 years the official total for all forms of British 'economic aid' came to £1,367 million—an average of £76 million a year. This is in contrast to the rising total in recent years for military expenditure overseas, from £200 million in 1962, to £350 million in 1964, and now in 1965 possibly at the rate of £450 to £500 million. Even this figure covers only the foreign exchange cost (money actually spent abroad), but the real cost is far more.

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Overseas private investment has also risen rapidly, from an official rate of £320 million in 1963 to a rate of £456 million in 1964—£344 million in the first nine months. This estimate is also much lower than the average £550 million a year given in the annual report on Balance of Payments 1958-61. The reliability of official figures can best be judged by a letter appearing in the *Financial Times* last September from the Malayan Rubber Growers Association, which stated that the 'book value' of £104 million given for British investments in Malaya was hopelessly inadequate, and the minimum total was no less than £260 million.

Even after the proposed Budget cut of £100 million a year in direct overseas investment the combined total of overseas military expenditure and overseas private investment is still equal to the £800 million peak deficit in the balance of payments—which is now used as a pretext for all kinds of economies and wage restraints. Overseas military expenses alone for Aden and 'East of Suez' are more than £200 million a year, which is £40 million more than the peak annual total of all forms of British 'economic aid'.

The U.S. presents a similar pattern, with a market value of $66,400 million in foreign investments in 1963, with an estimated profit of 10·2 per cent. It is not surprising that the U.S. also has a balance of payments problem! Greater secrecy conceals the total profit from British overseas investments now estimated by the Bank of England at £10,000 million. The 1963 balance of payments report gives an annual average profit of £1,130 million for the five years 1958-62 inclusive, but 'invisible' earnings are more likely to be in the region of £2,000 million.

What the developing countries need is not military bases and aggression on their soil, or private investment from abroad for the extraction of huge profits, but an equitable price on the world market for their exports, outright grants and interest-free loans for economic development, and long-term agreements at stable prices.

At the Geneva U.N.T.A.D. conference last year, it was revealed that from 1950 to 1962 exports from socialist countries to 'developing' countries had risen from $405 million to $2,150 million—430 per cent—and from the developing countries to the socialist countries from $660 million to $1,630 million—167 per cent. These have grown even more rapidly in the past three years.

Apart from its colossal economic aid to brother socialist countries the Soviet Union alone has assisted in the construction (or is in the process of doing so) of 480 industrial establishments and other

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installations in the new states, and has provided them with credits amounting to 3,000 million roubles (a rouble is roughly equal to the U.S. dollar). Long-term credits are at the low annual interest rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, repayable in the currency of the country concerned or in kind. On occasions, the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries, extend loans entirely free of interest. Contrast this with the $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent rate of interest announced by Barbara Castle in presenting her new Bill in February. She was present at the Geneva U.N.T.A.D. conference last year and attacked the World Bank Rate of 5 per cent to $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, which revealed that more than £1,000 million was due in interest payments in 1963 on total loans of £3,200 million advanced in 1962.

Debt repayments and interest charges due from 'developing' countries on 'economic aid' loans from all sources rose from $900 million in 1956 to $3,100 million in 1963—more than 10 per cent of their total export earnings. Barbara Castle strongly protested that 'It means we have to go on pouring out future aid just to enable the poor countries to pay for past aid'. The U.S. 'Agency for International Development' (A.I.D.) reported last month on April 5 that 30 per cent of the assistance to developing countries in 1964 was wiped out by interest payments on past loans, compared with 8 per cent in 1955. What is more, the former pattern of roughly 50 per cent each in grants and loans is changing with the growth of independent states to the bulk of 'economic aid', being in the form of high-interest loans. Even the boosted 'economic aid' is declining.

The future of the new states is not only a serious challenge to Britain; it has a direct bearing on the future of Britain itself. We have to decide whether Britain can survive on the old basis (which still goes on) of imperialist exploitation at the expense of the underdeveloped countries and world hunger and poverty, or establish new relations of mutual interest, based on genuine economic co-operation and the common struggle to end all forms of imperialist domination.

This is the real issue behind what is termed the 'balance of payments crisis'. It is the price the British people have to pay for being at the centre of a vast imperialist system. It is not simply an economic problem. It lies at the heart of the entire struggle now facing the British people, and it is the responsibility of the organised labour movement to wage a much bigger battle to move forward along the path of ending imperialist exploitation.

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UNITY IN THE STUDENT WORLD

Michael Costello

President-elect of University of Manchester Union

ANYONE who is a regular reader of the daily and Sunday mass circulation newspapers will have noticed an interest being taken, of late, in the student world, particularly in whom the students are electing to represent them in their local Unions and to the National Council of the National Union of Students. Last month, press coverage was given to the conference of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations where, despite opposition from the assistant national agent of the Labour Party, the delegates supported a move to draw up a new constitution which would not include bans or proscriptions. There was the letter sent out from the Conservative Party central office to a number of local Conservative Student Associations stating (in the charming illiterate style of those born to rule but not to write):

> We are very worried about the National Union of Students, which seems to be developing once more extreme left-wing views. Some delegations from a few universities, including yours, are, I gather, all extremists. . . . Delegations should therefore be chosen from among those who are representative of student opinion and not party politics as such. Do you think you could do something about this?

Then there were articles in the *Daily Mail* (March 4, 1965) and *Sunday Times* (March 21, 1965) warning of a 'Communist take-over bid'. The article in the latter paper really went to town in the true 'Zinoviev Letter' style, referring to myself as an 'expert in political manoeuvring' trained in Prague, and then went on through a list of Communists in different colleges and universities, assigning them arbitrary responsibilities, misquoting—in fact, the old unbiased, objective approach one expects them to use when the students of Manchester University have the effrontery to elect as their president a Communist Party member.

Why this interest today? Can we really believe that it is because of a threatened plot by foreign-trained agents (like most strikes and other industrial struggles, if we are to believe them), or is there something else? The something else is, in fact, the growing participation of students in affairs that affect them specifically as students and also as members of society as a whole. Students in Britain today are not the same as those who grew up under the worst conditions of the cold war and they are on the move. A few examples may be

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given as reminders: students at Leicester recently broke the colour bar in a pub by sit-in methods; the Executive Committee of Manchester University (not a Communist on it) sent money to Selma, Alabama, for the march for Negro rights; co-ordinating committees embracing students with the widest variety of political views are protesting against the war in Vietnam; students all over the country are making clear their opposition to racialism, whether in South Africa, the U.S.A. or in Great Britain; the Easter march this year had great student participation.

There is also developing a feeling that maybe the National Union of Students should also have a mandate on similar questions. Here is one of the principal worries for those who think in terms of plots. The National Union of Students is confined in its discussions to matters affecting education in the narrowest meaning of the word. At the same time the Executive of the N.U.S. sends representatives to international student gatherings such as the International Student Conference and the International Union of Students and wishes to play a leading part in world student affairs. Now, at these international meetings 'wicked' people from the newly independent countries and from the socialist countries and, in fact, from almost every other country in the world bring up for discussion questions such as the fight for peace and against imperialism. Where do the delegates to the British N.U.S. Councils (as the conferences are called) come in? Precisely nowhere; so the result is that the Executive representatives to these international meetings go with no mandate from the membership on many of the questions that are raised.

A majority on the floor of Council last November (not sufficient, however, to carry the constitutional amendment) thought that it would be correct to have the opportunity to discuss such and other matters that at present are ruled out by the terms of the constitution. Terrible? A plot? The *Sunday Times* may think so, but then again, the *Sunday Times* has no positive contribution to make to the democratic functioning of our Union, anyway. To them it seems sufficient to argue by knocking down a Communist bogey that they themselves have set up. Presumably they do not want the students to discuss. We can accept that they have their reasons for this.

This is one example where the Communist bogey is being invoked to hold up developments but, more important in the eyes of most students in Britain are the issues that directly affect them. It is on attitudes to these issues that students are elected to positions of responsibility in their local Unions and sent to represent them at the

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national Councils. These issues relate to the need for higher maintenance grants; for the removal of the means test governing the value of these grants; the need to end the back payment by graduates of insurance stamps for the years spent studying; in general the need for greater student facilities. Apart from these there are a host of other questions that vary from place to place and at Manchester University a mandate had just been given me to go ahead with democratising the whole structure of the Union; attempting to gain student representation on University and Faculty governing bodies; for a more up-to-date approach to rules pertaining to the personal life of students who live in official halls of residence and digs. For the coming April Council of the N.U.S. the greatest number of priorities for any motion from local colleges has been given to the discussion of a charter that would 'set standards . . . for the best possible conditions enabling students to study and express themselves. . . .' The amazing thing is that for this we have had to wait till 1965!

It is on these questions and on how to get somewhere with them that the greatest degree of unity in the student body is being built up. In working out the programme for the coming year at Manchester, the programme on which the presidential elections were won, the greatest account was taken of what, as far as could be ascertained, were the issues the students wanted dealing with most. It was said that a Communist candidate to represent these would split the Union into warring political factions. In fact the reverse was shown to be the case, despite the attempts of those who tried to make their prediction come true. The programme, which is now a mandate, drew in a wider breadth of support from the students than any other election in the Union. It met with the backing of progressive students, whether Communists, Liberals, Conservatives, Labour, Catholic, Protestant, whether British or from overseas. The result was a record poll and a win on the first count in a preferential vote system. It was a win for all those with the interests of the Union at heart and a defeat for none but the cold war warriors.

I give this example from Manchester because it is both topical and the example I know best. There must be many from other colleges and I should like to read about them in the discussion that I hope this article helps to stimulate. The most significant sign in this example is the unity. It is this unity that is worrying the gentlemen whose views appear so consistently in the press. They are now trying to tell students what their business is and what is the basis on which they should choose their representatives. Of course, they

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still meet with considerable response. These people are afraid of student unity. For years they delighted in criticising student 'apathy' and giving the greatest coverage to excesses and misdemeanours committed by the few. A good section of students have had enough of the hardened attitudes of the cold war. More students are finding that things happen when they themselves help to make them happen. This is what is worrying those who can find no real criticism of the people being chosen and therefore resort to name-calling and wholesale appeal to prejudice.

Now it is the Communists who are being attacked for what is happening. This is a compliment to the Communists but does not do justice to the many who are not Communists who are aware that we must work together if we are to improve our conditions.

Unfortunately, at the time of writing the April Council of the National Union of Students has not yet met and so I hope that any contributors to discussion will also bring in the results of this Council.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

THE FAILURE OF THE DAILY HERALD

The complaint that it has 'lost its soul' . . . can be tested by reference to the current columns of 'Labour's Only Daily'. We can content ourselves here with the reminder that, in the summer of 1922, when George Lansbury resigned the editorship, when the paper became the official organ of the labour and trade union movements, and when 'a real journalist' was appointed editor, 'The New Daily Herald' was proclaimed to be 'just as good as any other newspaper'. 'Just as good', in which sense? In the sense that 'The New Daily Herald' was not to be 'a propaganda sheet', but a newspaper giving 'all the news'. In experience, we readers of the *Daily Herald for its politics* have found this to mean that the working-class point of view has been hidden with a veil of respectability, 'fairness', appeals to the 'better nature' of the capitalist class, all the paraphernalia which serves to evade the cold fact of the class war—or the working-class point of view is thrust entirely into the background. One vomits at the newly coined catch-phrases, such as 'Thoroughly Comfortable' as a substitute for capitalist class, 'Things as They Are' as a substitute for capitalist system . . . because they indicate the desire to eliminate from the reader's mind all associations with the old phraseology which meant simply Class War, and, as its outcome, Revolution. . . . The revolutionary working-class Press of the future must, then, be . . . the proclaimer of class war and Revolution. Its break must be, not only with the traditions of the capitalist Press, but with those of the Reformist Labour Press. The need for such a departure is urgent, and the possibility of effort for its accomplishment perhaps not so remote as we are liable to think.

(From *Labour Monthly*, May 1925.)

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SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

Hilda Bernstein

THERE is an old man in South-West Africa who, within the span of his own life, encompasses the whole tragic history of his country. When he was born the territory was occupied only by the tribes who had migrated there from the 16th century onwards. He was a growing lad before the Germans, late-comers to colony-grabbing, began the swift building of their short-lived African empire. He was in his thirties when the Germans launched their genocidal war against his people, the Hereros, and reduced a proud race of 80,000 cattle-rich tribesmen to 15,000 starving fugitives. When that was over, in 1907, he saw the tribal lands expropriated and sold to White farmers. He was nearing middle-age when the Germans lost their African empire after their defeat in World War One, and South-West Africa became a mandated territory under the Covenant of the League of Nations. In the space of a few years from 1920, he saw the White settlers double and their land holdings vastly extended under the South African administration of the League's mandate.

He has seen the lands of the tribes further reduced to scattered and isolated spots; witnessed the growing occupation of the Whites and of their extension of possession of land, minerals and wealth. He saw his people driven 'from fertile valleys to sandy regions' as the Hereros were split into eight Reserves and their land alienated. He was nearing the seventies when he was asked by the Whites to help enlist South-West African tribes in the South African forces during World War Two. Now over ninety years old, Chief Hosea Kutako still alertly watches the great nations of the world playing politely with his country, still fiercely believes that justice must in the end prevail; the greed and power of South Africa be broken by the greater power of international law, and the land and its wealth restored to the people.

The International Court of Justice at The Hague is at present listening to argument on charges brought against South Africa on the administration of South-West Africa. This is a large and sparsely-populated country, 318,261 square miles in extent with only just over half a million inhabitants. The Namib desert runs from north to south along the coast, and between this and the Kalahari desert in the east, there is a central highland. In 1960 the population was 526,004, of whom 73,464 are Whites, the remainder being African

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tribes, Bushmen, and half-caste peoples. Although only one in seven South-West Africans is White, the Whites have exclusive use of twice as much land as the Africans. White farmers own huge cattle ranches and sheep farms. The country is split by a line—the Police Zone, where occupation is reserved for Whites only. Africans must live in Reserves and may enter the Police Zone only to work for Whites. The African Reserves are mainly in the north, completely undeveloped and wretchedly poor and backward, with farming on subsistence level—or below; men must work as contract labour in the southern sector. There are enormously rich diamond deposits and a variety of other minerals. There are fishing and guano industries and karakul (persian lamb) is a very important crop.

The final administrative and legislative authority for the affairs of South-West Africa is vested in the government of South Africa. There is a legislative assembly in South-West consisting of Whites only, elected by Whites only, with powers to make ordinances on certain matters provided they do not conflict with South African apartheid laws. Affairs of non-Whites are handled in the main directly by South African authorities. One member (White) is nominated to the South African Senate (upper house) on the grounds of his acquaintance with 'the reasonable wants and wishes' of the non-Whites of South-West Africa. South Africa's administration over South-West began after the first world war when the Territory was mandated under the Covenant of the League of Nations. Several attempts to get the Mandates Commission to agree to the incorporation of the Territory into South Africa were refused. When the League of Nations died the mandates system was succeeded by the United Nations trusteeship system. South Africa refused to place South-West Africa under the International Trusteeship System as requested by the General Assembly of U.N. from 1946 to 1959 (it is the only former mandated Territory which has not been placed under the trusteeship system or alternatively granted independence); and also rejected advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice confirming her obligations under the Mandate. All efforts by the U.N. failed to bring compliance or even recognition of South Africa's obligations, and the Republic continues to administer South-West Africa on the basis of the apartheid system, contrary to the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

In November 1960 Ethiopia and Liberia initiated proceedings

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against South Africa before the International Court of Justice. Early in 1962 a Special Committee on South-West Africa was set up by General Assembly resolution with the task of bringing about the abolition of apartheid in South-West and to prepare the Territory for full independence. The General Assembly also called for a U.N. representative for South-West, to establish an effective United Nations presence in the Territory; and further asked for investigation into the activities of international companies in South-West. South Africa refused to countenance a U.N. presence; and argues that agreements over South-West Africa ceased to exist with the end of the League of Nations. In the four years since Ethiopia and Liberia brought their case, the Court has been occupied with South African objections to its jurisdiction to try the case (a submission that the Court rejected) and by the submission of large quantities of documents and written evidence by both sides.

The U.N. Special Committee has issued meanwhile a lengthy and interesting report on the activities of the mining industry and other international companies with interests in South-West Africa. Their conclusions, based on massive evidence, are briefly that foreign capital holds a dominant position in the economy of South-West Africa and the main sectors of production are controlled by foreign enterprises or White settlers mainly from South Africa. The report states baldly that the foreign monopolists have no interest in developing any sort of a balanced economy in the Territory and apart from the rich export industries, other sectors of the economy such as manufacturing remain undeveloped—in particular African agriculture is completely undeveloped.

'The desire of the Government of South Africa to annex South-West Africa is directly connected with the activities of International companies which are interested in keeping the Territory as a field for the investment of their capital, a source of raw material and cheap labour.' Such economic development as has taken place does not extend beyond the White-occupied Police Zone. 'The discriminatory laws in South-West Africa in respect of mining and labour are designed to exclude the Africans from any direct participation in the mining industry and to guarantee the industry a permanent supply of cheap, unskilled migrant labour.' As a result of the discriminatory legislation and practices of the Administration, reflecting both the 'outdated concepts of colonial government and the racial policies of apartheid', Africans scarcely share in the profits of these rich industries.

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The report explains how, interested only in making quick profits, the Territory's mineral resources are being operated in such a way that the country runs the risk of finding itself, in the not too distant future, without raw materials which are the main support for the money economy today. The surplus profits flow abroad, and are not re-invested in the Territory. The apartheid policy that South Africa operates offers the foreign companies greatest possibilities for the exploitation of the people, bringing enormously high profits and denying any opportunity of improvement in the living conditions of the Africans. Laws effectively deny African workers most of the means by which they might otherwise improve their conditions, and restrict their chances to advance. The method of recruitment used is 'basically forced labour' and the African population lives 'as though in slavery'. 'The very low level of African wages, the lack of development of the Reserves and the evils of the migratory labour system result in misery and untold sufferings on the part of the indigenous population.' South Africa uses the Territory as an extension of its own economy, a market for manufactured goods and a source of primary products.

'It can be shown that the overwhelming majority of the mining companies belong to a complex of foreign capital which operates in many areas of Southern Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Congo (Leopoldville) and Angola, and in reality is directed by a number of monopolistic combines controlled by financial interests in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Republic of South Africa.' 'These foreign companies also bear the responsibility for the sufferings of the people of the Territory.' They share South Africa's interest in perpetuating the existing system as long as possible. 'It is precisely from those Member States with financial interests in the Territory that the Republic of South Africa derives its main support in the United Nations and outside which encourages its continued non-compliance with the Charter. . . .' The final conclusion is that the study of the activities of the foreign companies confirms the urgency of the need to grant and ensure independence in South-West Africa.

This is the background of facts against which the charges against South Africa are being argued before the World Court. The outcome of the Court is not a foregone conclusion, but South Africans believe that if the decision goes against them there would be unlimited scope for further arguments and no dramatic sequel. They feel in the end, if the judgment were strongly-worded, Dr. Verwoerd

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could simply do nothing; and they feel that powerful members of the United Nations would not be willing to back any forceful action. 'South Africa will not allow any change', stated a leading White citizen of South-West Africa. 'No Western power would try to force her to make any change and the Black states are not strong enough to force South Africa to make any changes.' The South-West African case before the International Court thus becomes a major test for the United Nations. A decision unfavourable to South Africa would have to be enforced by countries reluctant to damage their own extensive interests in South-West Africa. The repercussions are limitless, world-wide. Positive action against South Africa would mark the beginning of the end of apartheid and so deal a death-blow to racism everywhere. 'South Africa will not be persuaded that the U.N. means business', writes Ruth First,* 'over South-West Africa until the states of the West show that South African and foreign economic and business interests can never be inviolate from reprisals as long as they prop up South Africa's defiance of the world in her handling of South-West Africa . . . the longer that intervention is delayed to stop the ravages of apartheid in South-West Africa, the greater the chances of a conflagration.'

It is not only for Chief Hosea Kutako that time is running out. But the people of Britain, too, are witnesses; there is still hope for this old man to live to see South-West Africa restored to her peoples. May we find ways to help speed the ending of the old, bitter wrongs and the beginning of the joint application of international justice and law.

*Author of *South-West Africa*, Penguin Books, 5s.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Russia at War, 1941-1945
Alexander Werth
Barrie and Rockliff. 1,100 pp. 60*s*.

A GIANT BOOK—but its subject is gigantic. Werth gives some space to criticism of the leaders of the Soviet Government in those years and after, and his assessment of their foreign relations is not always in keeping with the facts—particularly of relations with the British Government. As a war correspondent, he could not know many of the perfidious injuries done in Britain to the cause of British-Soviet solidarity which were exposed, month by month, in our journal. But this side of Werth's book is of small importance, compared with the incomparable—and in English, or indeed any other language outside the Soviet Union, unequalled—picture he draws of the Soviet people's sufferings, disasters, stubborn resolution, grim resistance and counter-attack and final triumph. Here are the people, here are the millions of its sons and daughters, who at the cost of sacrifices unprecedented in history (for they and their leaders had to learn as they fought) succeeded in breaking and pulverising the German war machine which had defeated the armies of Tsarist Russia in 1914-1916, the Nazi war machine which had overthrown all the armies of capitalist Europe in 1939-1941. Werth does not *want* to demonstrate that it was the Socialist system which put forward its herculean strength in those years—why should he, a Liberal of White emigrant origins—but the truthful journalist in him, vividly reporting the facts he saw all around him in those years at the Soviet fronts and lines of communication and rear, does so all the same for anyone who reads this book with Socialist eyes. There are pages which make bitter reading for those who did not realise that Socialism still leaves humanity imperfect—but that only underlines the immense power which Socialism contains (real Socialism, the Socialism of a country which has got rid of its capitalists and landowners and their lickspittles and 'loyal opposition'). I guarantee that any *Labour Monthly* readers who take up this book will not be able to drop it before they reach the end. Of course its price is prohibitive for most of us. Make sure it is on the request list at your public library. And, by the way, you can see the Russian side of the same picture in the writer Konstantin Simonov's war diaries, now running through *New Times*.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN.

A Miner's Life:

An autobiography by John Brophy
The University of Wisconsin Press.
308 pp. $7.50

THIS IS AN INTERESTING, and in limited ways, a valuable addition to numerous American labour histories and historical autobiographies. How-

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ever, the late John Brophy does not rate the extravagant publisher's claims for him as 'one of the founders of the C.I.O.' or as one of 'few men in the history of American labour who have been so universally respected'. I doubt if Brophy himself, except possibly in the last years when he became vain, would have agreed with such characterisations.

John Brophy was born of a family of miners in Lancashire and with his family emigrated to Central Pennsylvania in 1893, when he was only ten years old. Like my own experience twenty years later, the 'land of opportunity' to which we went was one of privation, destitution, strikes and bitter class warfare. By his twelfth birthday Brophy was working in the coal mines in the company-town of Urey. The best part of the book is his graphic description of how the miners had to live and work before the United Mine Workers' Union was established, and the bitter and historic strikes—some lost and some won—and day to day struggles with the coal operators over many years to establish the union. Woven throughout these years of his experience, from miner to President of U.M.W.A. District No. 2 in Central Pennsylvania, the reader also gets an insight into the intrigues and internal struggles within the miners' union itself. Aside from John L. Lewis, Farrington, Searles and a few others, Brophy is too charitable in his characterisations.

The high point of Brophy's life in the miners' union was when he headed the 'Save the Union' progressive slate of officers that challenged John L. Lewis in 1926. After a vigorous campaign on a progressive programme the Lewis machine announced the vote as Lewis 173,032 and Brophy 60,661. Brophy charged, as was widely believed, that Lewis had 'cooked the figures' and claimed that he and his running mates were elected. It is unfortunate that Brophy in his book rewrites the history of the 'Save the Union' Movement by presenting it as a personal project and movement. The only reference to the Communists, with whom he worked closely and without whom the movement would never have taken on national proportions, is two years later when Brophy writes 'The Communists saw in this situation their opportunity and worked hard to identify themselves with the name'. He even admits 'that much, if not most' of the work in the name of the Committee was by the Communists.

About the time the C.I.O. was organised, Brophy became reconciled with John L. Lewis for a few more years. His description of some of the greatest struggles in American Labour history—like the General Motors workers' sitdown strikes in Flint and Cleveland or the rubber workers' strike in Akren, is colourless and anaemic because he studiously wants to avoid giving credit to the Communist and other Left forces who played such decisive roles.

This latter-day effort of Brophy to forget or minimise his relations with Communists in the course of many battles, lessens the effectiveness of the story that could be told around his life. Constantly he finds himself in a quandary between his basic honesty which led him to join hands with others in a common fight against oppression and exploitation and his Catholic Church proscriptions. He rationalised this by public adherence to the papal Rerum Novarum which he writes 'made it impossible for me to become a Marxist. . .'

JOHN WILLIAMSON.

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Auschwitz in England

Mavis M. Hill and L. Norman Williams
Macgibbon and Kee. 294 pp. 36s.

THIS BOOK GIVES a clear and eminently readable account of an unusual libel action tried in London in the spring of 1964.

The action was remarkable indeed, for it brought to a public which needs incessant reminders, a vivid picture of some of the unspeakable horrors and the incredible heroisms of Auschwitz. Some things are unspeakable, but must never be forgotten.

The book itself is something of an achievement, for it does what is almost impossible—it tells the story of an 18-day long trial of a case under our very complicated laws of libel and our equally complicated rules of evidence, so well that it becomes clear and 'alive' to the layman. It would indeed be a pleasant book if it were not for the horror of its subject matter; and we had better know to what the Nazis descended.

D. N. PRITT, Q.C.

The Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers, Shipwrights Blacksmiths and Structural Workers

The General Executive Council sends fraternal greetings to all workers and asks that all socialists re-dedicate themselves on May Day 1965 to the alleviation of world poverty and the establishment of a sound basis for world peace.

Signed:-
E. J. Hill
President.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

to all readers,

from the Editor and Staff of

SOVIET WEEKLY

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MARCHING ON

THE inspiring Peace Marches at Easter and the traditional May Day demonstrations all over the country, make this time of year particularly one of hope and soaring activity in the cause of peace.

Looking forward with confidence, this letter from Lancashire embodies the theme of many others: 'The hell let loose by the U.S. in Vietnam has shattered even my non-political acquaintances. They now see that where war is concerned, the world's a very small place and could involve us all. My gratitude to *L.M.* for providing me with the true facts, and the opportunity to make new readers'. Sending an extra May Day donation, a London friend, heartened by the mounting movement for peace, adds: 'My gift is a small tribute to the part played by *L.M.* in helping to build this movement'.

A reader now living on one of the Shetland Isles places *L.M.* high on his list of priorities: 'I was using Notes of the Month when active in London at the time of the hunger marches, Spain and Mosley during the thirties', he writes, 'and R.P.D.'s Notes are still being used in forthright discussion amongst the 260 population of our small island'.

In the changing world of today *Labour Monthly*, as always, speaks for people everywhere who want to live in peace.

Helen Falber.

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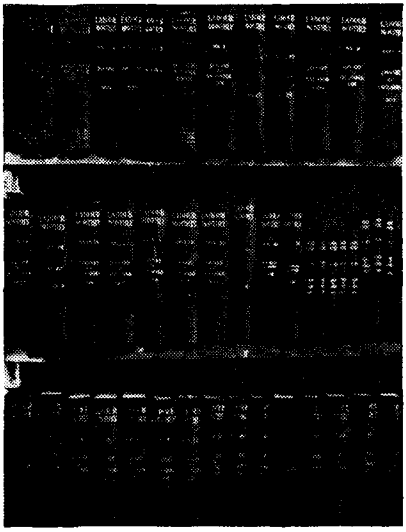

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